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R 230430Z MAY 75

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9971

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AMEMBASSY CANBERRA

AMEMBASSY JAKARTA

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MANILA

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

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AMEMBASSY SINGAPORE

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CINCPAC

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 KUALA LUMPUR 2860

CANBERRA ALSO FOR ASST SEC HABIB

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR ASEAN XC MY

SUBJ: ASEAN FOREIGN MINISTERS' MEETING: WRAPUP
AND EMBASSY COMMENTS

REF: A) KL 2694; B) KL 2689; C) MANILA 6872

D) KL A-65, 5/19/75

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1. SUMMARY: IN TRUE ASIAN -- AND ASEAN -- FASHION, THE FIVE

FOREIGN MINISTERS STEERED CAREFUL MIDDLE COURSE IN ANNUAL DELIBERATIONS IN KL MAY 13 - 15. FONMINS AGREED TO CONTINUE SLOW BUT STEADY COOPERATION ON ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT, WELCOMING OUTSIDE AID, AND AGREED ON GENERAL STRUCTURE AND MODE OF OPERATIONS OF SECRETARIAT TO BE SET UP IN JAKARTA. POLITICAL DISCUSSIONS WERE DOMINATED BY UNSETTLING EVENTS IN INDOCHINA BUT THERE WAS NO AGREEMENT ON DEGREE OF THREAT FROM SUBVERSION BY INDOCHINESE COMMUNIST REGIMES, ALTHOUGH ALL ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THREAT DOES IN FACT EXIST. TREND OF FUTURE ASEAN POLITICAL-MILITARY COOPERATION IS SEEN IN SERIES OF HALF MEASURES, MAINLY DEVOLVING ON EXPANDING SYSTEM OF BEHIND-THE-SCENES CONSULTATIONS, BUT FULL COMMITMENT TO SOLIDARITY AND COMMON ACTION WAS IMPEDED BY TRADITIONAL ANTAGONISMS, NOTABLY MALAYSIAN-PHILIPPINE DIFFERENCES OVER SABAH AND SOUTHERN PHILIPPINES. ON THE WHOLE, ASEAN FONMINS' MEETING DID NOT FULFILL EXPECTATIONS (BUOYED BY RHETORIC OF FONMINS IN THEIR OPENING STATEMENTS) THAT ASEAN SHOULD TAKE CONCRETE STEPS TOWARD REGIONAL SOLIDARITY AND INTEGRATION BUT NEVERTHELESS ESTABLISHED SOLID BASIS FOR EVOLUTION OF CLOSER ASEAN POLITICAL-MILITARY TIES. END SUMMARY.

2. MEETING OF ASEAN FONMINS IN KUALA LUMPUR MAY 13 - 15 WAS CONDUCTED ON FOUR LEVELS: PLENARY MEETINGS WITH ADVISERS IN ATTENDANCE WHICH DEALT WITH ASEAN ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COOPERATION, HOUSEKEEPING DETAILS AND SETTING UP OF NEW ASEAN SECRETARIAT; CLOSED DOOR MEETING OF FONMINS WITH PM RAZAK (WHO IS ALSO GOM FONMIN) ON MAY 14 WHICH WAS CONCERNED PRIMARILY WITH REGIONAL POLITICAL-MILITARY MATTERS, INCLUDING INDOCHINA; MEETINGS OF COMMITTEES OF SENIOR OFFICIALS TO HAMMER OUT FINAL COMMUNIQUE AND PRESS STATEMENTS (REFS A AND D); AND OF COURSE INFORMAL CONSULTATIONS AMONG FONMINS AND PRINCIPAL ADVISERS. UNFORTUNATELY, RHETORIC OF OPENING SESSION MAY 13 (KL 2660) STIMULATED FEELINGS, ESPECIALLY AMONG MEDIA REPRESENTATIVES, THAT ASEAN WAS ABOUT TO EMBARK ON NEW ERA OF CLOSE POLITICAL-MILITARY RELATIONS, AS WELL AS ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COOPERATION WHICH ARE ITS STATED OBJECTIVES. IN THIS RESPECT, WE HAVE RECEIVED COMMENTS FROM RESIDENT ASEAN DIPLOMATS THAT HIGH

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EXPECTATIONS OF FOREIGN PRESS IN PARTICULAR WERE UNFOUNDED; AS ONE SENIOR MALAYSIAN FOREIGN MINISTRY OFFICIAL PUT IT, "WE HAVE ALWAYS PROCEEDED ON EXPECTATION THAT ASEAN PROGRESS WOULD BE SLOW AND BASED ON 'LOWEST COMMON DENOMINATOR' OF WILLINGNESS OF FIVE NATIONS TO COOPERATE." ON BALANCE, HOWEVER, IT APPEARS THAT ASEAN FONMINS' SESSION SUCCEEDED IN DEFINING SEMINAL AREAS OF AGREEMENT FOR FUTURE ASEAN POLITICAL-MILITARY CONSULTATIONS AND PERHAPS SOUNDER BASIS

FOR FIVE NATIONS TO SORT THINGS OUT PRIVATELY AMONG
THEMSELVES. FOLLOWING ARE COMMENTS ON SIX MAIN ASPECTS
OF FONMINS' DELIBERATIONS:

3. ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COOPERATION: FONMINS RUBBER-STAMPED
81 PROJECTS THAT WILL BE UNDERTAKEN BY ASEAN DURING NEXT
YEAR AND REAFFIRMED MANDATES OF 29 COMMITTEES AND
CONSULTATIVE BODIES (RANGING FROM COMMITTEE ON SEA
FREIGHT RATES TO MEETING OF PARLIAMENTARIANS) WHICH IN
PAST HAVE HAD EXTREMELY VARIABLE RECORDS OF ACHIEVEMENT.
AMONG PROJECTS APPROVED IN PRINCIPLE WAS JOINT EFFORT ON
NARCOTICS WHICH MFA SOURCE SAID WOULD INVOLVE TRAINING OF
CUSTOMS AND BORDER POLICE OFFICIALS IN NARCOTICS
DETECTION TECHNIQUES. FONMINS ALSO FORMALLY ACCEPTED
NSD ZEALAND AND CANADIAN OFFERS OF AID, WITH DETAILS TO
BE WORKED OUT LATER, AND ADDITIONAL UNSPECIFIED INCREMENT
OF AUSTRALIAN AID
BEYOND PRESENT A\$5 MILTON.

ASEAN MINISTERS ALSO PLEDGED COMMON CAUSE
ON INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC PROBLEMS AND, ACCORDING FINAL
PRESS STATEMENT (REF A), AGREED TO SUPPORT PLANS FOR
STABILIZATION OF COMMODITY PRICES AND RESTRUCTURING OF
INTERNAL ECONOMIC ORDER ALONG LINES SUGGESTED BY RECENT
DAKAR MEETING OF LDC'S. GENERALLY, FONMINS AGREED TO
MORE OF THE SAME TYPES OF ACTIVITIES THAT ASEAN HAS BEEN
PURSUING IN THE ECONOMIC, CULTURAL AND SOCIAL FIELDS AND
WITH CONTINUING PATTERN OF CONSULTATIONS THAT ASEAN NATIONS
HAVE BUILT UP IN INTERNAL FORA. AGREEMENT ON SEARCH
AND RESCUE AT SEA WAS ALSO CONCLUDED (TEXT TRANSMITTED
REF D).

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4. INDOCHINA: TWO IMPULSES DOMINATED FONMINS'
DISCUSSIONS ON INDOCHINA: THEY WISHED TO AVOID
(ASSIDUOUSLY IN SOME CASES) IMPRESSION THAT ASEAN IS A
POLITICAL-SECURITY BLOC DIRECTED AGAINST NEW COMMUNIST
REGIMES; AND THEY WISHED INVITE NEW INDOCHINA REGIMES
TO ENTER INTO FRIENDLY RELATIONS WITH ASEAN NATIONS.
THERE SEEMED TO HAVE BEEN FAIRLY WIDE ACCEPTANCE OF
SINGAPORE FONMIN RAJARATNAM'S VIEW THAT NOT ONLY SHOULD
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ASEAN NATIONS EXTEND FRIENDLY HAND TO INDOCHINA STATES,
BUT ALSO NEW REGIMES SHOULD EXPRESS WILLINGNESS TO
COOPERATE WITH ASEAN NATIONS INDIVIDUALLY AND
COLLECTIVELY (PARA 6, KL 2660). INDONESIANS,
GENERALLY DESIRING TO HASTEN DEVELOPMENT OF CONCRETE
ASEAN POLITICAL AND MILITARY COOPERATION, PROPOSED THAT
"THREAT" OF A COMMUNIST INDOCHINA TO OTHER SEASIAN
NATIONS BE DEFINED AND ASSESSED IF POSSIBLE. ACCORDING
TO INDONESIAN AND MALAYSIAN DIPLOMATIC SOURCES, THAIS
IN PARTICULAR DREW BACK FROM THIS SUGGESTION AND IT WAS
AGREED ONLY THAT "THREAT" DOES INDEED EXIST AND THAT IT
WILL PROBABLY BE IN FORM OF INFILTRATION AND SUBVERSION,
ESPECIALLY SMUGGLING OF ARMS FROM INDOCHINA TO DISSIDENT
POLITICAL ELEMENTS IN NEIGHBORING NATIONS. A SENIOR MFA
UNDERSECRETARY ALSO TOLD US THAT ASEAN RELATIONS WITH NEW
INDOCHINA GOVERNMENTS WILL PRIMARILY BE IN BILATERAL CONTEXT
AND, CONSIDERING RECENT NEGATIVE NOISES FROM PHNOM PENH,
HANOI AND SAIGON, ASEAN NATIONS REALLY DO NOT BELIEVE
THAT INDOCHINESE STATES WILL BE WILLING IN NEAR FUTURE TO

DEAL WITH ASEAN GOVERNMENTS COLLECTIVELY. HE EXPRESSED HOPE, HOWEVER, THAT THIS ATTITUDE WILL CHANGE ONCE STRENGTH OF ASEAN IS PERCEIVED BY THEM.

5. U.S. PRESENCE IN ASIA: ASEAN FONMINS "ACCEPTED" CONTINUING U.S. POLITICAL AND MILITARY PRESENCE IN ASIA ALTHOUGH ALL AGREED THAT U.S. BASES SHOULD BE WITHDRAWN. ACCORDING TO MFA UNDERSECRETARY, TIMING OF WITHDRAWAL OF U.S. BASES WAS LEFT TO BILATERAL CONSULTATIONS WITH U.S. BY THAILAND AND PHILIPPINES; SIMILARLY, PHASING OUT OF FPDA BASES IN MALAYSIA AND SINGAPORE WILL BE ARRANGED BILATERALLY. "BLUEPRINT" FOR SEASIAN ZONE OF PEACE, FREEDOM AND NEUTRALITY WAS NOT DEALT WITH IN SPECIFIC TERMS AND IT AGREED THAT ASEAN SENIOR OFFICIALS WOULD CONTINUE WORK ON DRAFT LANGUAGE AND STRATEGY FOR IMPLEMENTATION OF ZONE. IN CONVERSATIONS OVER PAST FEW DAYS, WE WERE ASSURED BY MALAYSIAN AND INDONESIAN DIPLOMATS THAT TENETS OF ZONE OF PEACE WOULD NOT BE "SURPRISING" OR UNPALATABLE TO U.S. IN EXPLORING SOME HYPOTHETICAL CASES, MFA UNDERSECRETARY SAID ZONE OF PEACE "BLUEPRINT" WOULD NOT PRECLUDE BILATERAL MILITARY ASSISTANCE BY U.S. OR ANY OTHER NATION TO ANY GOVERNMENT IN REGION; A RESIDUAL
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OR CARETAKER PRESENCE AT FORMER MILITARY BASES IN REGION WOULD ALSO NOT BE PRECLUDED AS LONG AS HOST COUNTRY HAS FULL SOVEREIGNTY OVER THOSE BASES AND THERE ARE NO FOREIGN FORCES IN RESIDENCE; ACCESS TO FUEL STORES AND REPAIR FACILITIES BY U.S. OR OTHER SHIPS AND PLANES WOULD NOT BE DENIED IF ARRANGEMENTS ARE MADE ON BILATERAL BASIS WITH COUNTRY IN ZONE; AND POSSIBLE U.S. OR OTHER PRESENCE IN AREA CONTIGUOUS TO ZONE (E.G., TAIWAN AND OKINAWA IN CASE OF U.S. AND INDIA IN CASE OF USSR) WOULD BE TOLERATED. MFA OFFICIAL, HOWEVER, APPRECIATED FACT THAT ZONE OF PEACE COULD BE USED BY COMMUNIST SIDE AS PRETEXT FOR AGITATING AGAINST ANY FORM OF U.S. PRESENCE IN AREA (INCLUDING INNOCENT PASSAGE OF WARSHIPS AND MINIMAL FORMS OF U.S. PRESENCE NOTED ABOVE). IN THIS CONTEXT HE NOTED THAT ASEAN OFFICIALS ARE STILL GRAPPLING WITH TERMS FOR PASSAGE OF WARSHIPS OF OUTSIDE POWERS, BUT IN FINAL ANALYSIS ASEAN NATIONS PROBABLY WILL HAVE TO ACCEPT WHATEVER FORMULATION AGREED UPON IN LOS NEGOTIATIONS.

6. TREATY OF AMITY AND COOPERATION: AS NOTED IN REF B, DRAFT TREATY WAS COMPROMISE ADOPTED BY ASEAN NATIONS IN VIEW OF CONTINUING DISAGREEMENT ON PRECISE MECHANISMS FOR SETTLEMENT OF INTRA-REGIONAL DISPUTES. IT IS WELL KNOWN AND ACKNOWLEDGED THAT PHILIPPINES IN PARTICULAR HAS INSISTED ON LEGALISTIC AND STRINGENT SYSTEM FOR DISPUTES SETTLEMENT WHEREAS MALAYSIANS AND TO SOME EXTENT SINGAPOREANS FAVOR LESS RIGOROUS APPROACH. NEVERTHELESS, ASEAN FONMINS WERE

ABLE TO AGREE IN PRINCIPLE THAT ALL DISPUTES ARISING AMONG
ASEAN NATIONS (AND OTHERS IF INDOCHINA STATES, FOR
EXAMPLE, SUBSCRIBED TO TREATY) SHOULD BE RESOLVED PEACEFULLY.
ESTABLISHMENT OF ASEAN HIGH COUNCIL AS PROPOSED IN DRAFT
ARTICLE 16 (REF C) IS BUT ONE MEANS PROPOSED TO DEAL WITH
DISPUTES SETTLEMENT. OTHER PROPOSALS, ACCORDING TO DIPLOMATIC
SOURCES, INCLUDE SOME FORM OF COMPULSORY ACCEPTANCE
OF GOOD OFFICES BY ANOTHER ASEAN MEMBER AND COMMISSIONS
OF MEDIATION, INQUIRY OR CONCILIATION FOR VARIOUS TYPES OF
DISPUTES (E.G., POLITICAL, TRADE, ETC.), SUGGESTION THAT WAS ALSO
INCLUDED IN DRAFT ARTICLE 16. INDONESIAN EMBOFF SAID ASEAN
HIGH COUNCIL APPROACH IS NOT FULLY ACCEPTABLE TO
MALAYSIANS WHO SAY THEY PREFER FLEXIBLE AND INFORMAL
CONSULTATIVE PROCESS. ANOTHER PROBLEM, ACCORDING TO
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INDONESIAN AND PHILIPPINE EMBOFFS, IS THAT NO CRITERIA EXIST
FOR IDENTIFYING OR DEFINING A DISPUTE; IT POSSIBLE UNDER
ANY OF THE SYSTEMS CONSIDERED THAT A NATION OR NATIONS
INVOLVED CAN REFUSE TO ADMIT THAT A DISPUTE EXISTS. THIS
IS PARTICULARLY RELEVANT TO MUSLIM INSURRECTION IN THE
SOUTHERN PHILIPPINES WHICH GOM HAS SAID IS PURELY INTERNAL
MATTER FOR THE GOP TO RESOLVE AND DOES NOT CONCERN
MALAYSIA. PHILIPPINE EMBOFF ALSO NOTED THAT DIFFERENCES
IN APPROACH TO SETTLEMENT OF INTRA-ZONAL DISPUTES ARE
LIKELY TO BE RESOLVED ONLY AT THE HIGHEST LEVEL AND THAT
THIS WOULD BE MOST IMPORTANT FOR HEADS OF STATE
TO DISCUSS AT ASEAN SUMMIT.

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7. SUMMIT MEETING: IT APPEARS FROM CONFERENCE AND POST-CONFERENCE STATEMENTS OF FONMINS THAT THAILAND, PHILIPPINES AND INDONESIA HAVE BACKED OFF FROM SUMMIT IDEA, BUT SPECULATION CONTINUES THAT MEETING MAY TAKE PLACE IN SEPTEMBER OR BEFORE END OF YEAR. INDONESIA EMBOFF SAID SINGAPOREANS WERE INITIALLY MOST OPPOSED TO SUMMIT BUT AGREED RELUCTANTLY TO GO ALONG WITH OTHER ASEAN MEMBERS IN CONSULTATIONS MAY 14; ACCORDING TO INDONESIA
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FONMIN MALIK, LEE KWAN YEW MAY YET HOLD OUT, HOWEVER (JAKARTA 6139). INDONESIA EMBOFF ALSO SAID THAT ENTHUSIASM FOR SUMMIT COOLED CONSIDERABLY DURING FONMINS' TALKS BECAUSE SUMMIT MEETING WOULD GIVE APPEARANCE OF ASEAN BLOC ALIGNMENT AGAINST COMMUNIST STATES IN INDOCHINA. THAI FONMIN CHARTCHAI REPORTEDLY SAID THAT SUMMIT, IF HELD, SHOULD BE LATER RATHER THAN SOONER, A POINT THAT WAS ACCEPTED BY THE FILIPINOS WHO ALL ALONG HAVE BEEN PRESSING FOR EARLY MEETING. (IT ALSO RECOGNIZED PRIVATELY THAT MALAYSIAN-FILIPINO PROBLEMS OVER SABAH AND SOUTHERN PHILIPPINES CONSTITUTE MAIN HINDRANCE TO FRUITFUL SUMMIT BECAUSE RAZAK IN PARTICULAR IS UNWILLING TO MEET MARCOS.) ULTIMATELY, ALL WERE ABLE TO AGREE THAT NEED AND TIMING OF SUMMIT SHOULD BE LEFT TO HEADS OF STATE THEMSELVES, DEPENDING ON FUTURE REGIONAL DEVELOPMENTS AND IDENTIFICATION OF SPECIFIC POINTS, SUCH AS RELATING TO DISPUTES SETTLEMENT,

THAT COULD ONLY BE RESOLVED AT SUMMIT.

8. PERMANENT SECRETARIAT: AGREEMENT ON SETTING UP OF PERMANENT SECRETARIAT IN JAKARTA AND COMPROMISE THAT AN INDONESIAN SHOULD BE FIRST ASEAN SECRETARY-GENERAL WERE VIEWED AS MAIN ACHIEVEMENTS OF FONMINS' MEETING BY HIGH-RANKING MFA OFFICIAL HERE. FONMINS ALSO AGREED TO ESTABLISH POSTS OF A) DEPUTY SECRETARY-GENERAL AND CHIEFS OF B) ECONOMIC, C) SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY AND

D) SOCIAL AND CULTURAL BUREAUS, WITH EACH MEMBER COUNTRY HOLDING ONE OF THESE POSTS. INDONESIAN EMBOFF SAID PERMANENT SECRETARIAT WILL BE HOUSED IN FOREIGN MINISTRY (DEPLU) COMPOUND IN PRESENT OFFICES OF INDONESIAN NATIONAL SECRETARIAT FOR ASEAN. REGARDING ADMINISTRATIVE AFFAIRS, SHARING OF FINANCES HAS NOT YET BEEN DETERMINED, REPORTEDLY BECAUSE SINGAPORE INSISTED ON PROPORTIONAL SHARING, PERHAPS BASED ON POPULATION SIZE. MORE IMPORTANTLY, ACCORDING TO INDONESIAN AND PHILIPPINE DIPLOMATIC SOURCES, FONMINS AGREED IN PRINCIPLE TO ESTABLISH POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND DEFENSE COUNCILS, BUT MANDATES AND MODALITIES OF THESE BODIES WILL BE CONSIDERED IN FUTURE.

9. COMMENT: ALL SAID AND DONE, ACHIEVEMENTS OF FONMINS'
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MEETING WERE SIGNIFICANT, ALTHOUGH MAIN POINTS OF AGREEMENT WERE "IN PRINCIPLE" AND NO SOLID CONSENSUS OF VIEWS RESULTED, ESPECIALLY ON INDOCHINA. INDONESIANS IN PARTICULAR DID NOT ACHIEVE CLOSER, MORE CONCRETE FORMS OF POLITICAL AND REGIONAL SECURITY COOPERATION, BUT FOUNDATION HAS BEEN LAID IN THIS REGARD IF PLANS PROCEED FOR CREATION OF POLITICAL AND DEFENSE COUNCILS. WE SEE, HOWEVER, SOME PHILOSOPHICAL PROBLEMS AHEAD FOR DEVELOPMENT OF FORMALISTIC ASEAN STRUCTURE (E.G., HIGH COUNCIL FOR DISPUTES SETTLEMENT, AND POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND DEFENSE COUNCILS) BECAUSE OF INNEGE RELUCTANCE OF ANY OF THESE NATIONS TO BECOME TOO FIRMLY TIED INTO ANY SYSTEM. FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF ASEAN ATTITUDES TOWARD U.S. CANNOT BE ACCURATELY PREDICTED ON BASIS OF THIS MEETING BUT, BEHIND-THE-SCENES AT LEAST, MINIMAL CONSENSUS REGARDING U.S. ROLE IN ASIA WAS DEFINITELY NOT HOSTILE, DESPITE PUBLIC PRONOUNCEMENTS OF SOME ASEAN FONMINS.
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